DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 187 608 SO 012 491

AUTHOR Baruch, Grace K.; Barnett, Rosalind C.
TITLE Involvement in Multiple Roles and the Well-being of Adult Women.
PUB DATE Aug 79
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (Boston, MA, August 1979).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adults; Childhood Needs; *Economic Status; Educational Needs; Employed Women; Females; *Job Satisfaction; *Mothers; Psychological Needs; *Self Esteem; *Sex Role; Social Change; Social Science Research

ABSTRACT

A study to determine the influence of occupational competence, economic independence, and involvement in a variety of roles upon the well-being of adult women is reported. Prior to reporting results, the document discusses social changes that have made occupational competence and economic independence critical for women's successful adaptation. Changes include the ability to control fertility, the lengthening life span, and the increasing participation of women in the work force. The study involved collecting data from 142 white, married, middle-class women and their husbands, all of whom had at least one child enrolled in preschool. The focus was to determine differences in the level of role pattern satisfaction and self-esteem. About 35% of the mothers were employed and 60% were classified as "at home." Results indicate that the well-being of non-employed women is highly dependent of their husbands' approval of their pattern, or more accurately on the wives' perceptions of his approval. In contrast, employed women are considerably less sensitive to their husbands' attitudes. Commitment to work and satisfaction with their current job contribute heavily to womens' indices of well-being. Also, even though women may be intensely concerned with the demands of young children, involvement in multiple roles need not result in debilitating conflict, strain, and dissatisfaction. In conclusion, the research supports the value of preparing girls from childhood to develop and exercise occupational competence. (Author/KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

MAY 15 1980

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Grace Baruch
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED187608

Involvement in Multiple Roles and the Well-being of Adult Women

Grace K. Baruch, Ph.D.
Brandeis University

Rosalind C. Barnett, Ph.D.
Brandeis University

SP 012 491

Paper presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Association, Boston, MA, August 1979

The major theme of this paper is that in our society, the psychological well-being of women is facilitated: (a) by the development of occupational competence and of the capacity for economic independence; and (b) by involvement in a variety of roles. With respect to the first point, we shall argue that neither psychological well-being nor full social competence in adulthood is compatible with occupational incompetence and economic dependence. Unfortunately, women still fail to grasp this social reality and thus do not prepare for it. Many women, therefore, find themselves unable to cope successfully with the circumstances in which they find themselves. They are at high risk for psychiatric symptomatology, poverty, and diminished well-being, especially as they grow older. As for the second point, we shall argue that when one considers the whole life span, the gratifications provided by multiple role involvement usually outweigh any conflict and stress such involvement may entail.

We begin by discussing the social changes that have made occupational competence and economic independence critical for women's successful adaptation. We then review evidence about the effects of multiple role involvement on psychological well-being in a group of married women with young children who differ in employment status. Women who occupy the traditional pattern of wife and mother are compared with those who combine these roles with that of paid worker, a pattern shared by increasing numbers of women.

The issues to be discussed in this paper must be viewed in the context of at least two sets of social changes. The first set includes the ability to control fertility, the problems of overpopulation, and the lengthening life span. An increasing proportion of women need no longer face frequent or unpredictable childbearing (Hoffman, 1977), and the social value of children

has decreased. Furthermore, female life expectancy now exceeds 75 years, of which perhaps 10, or no more than about 1/7 of a lifetime, may be spent in intensive child-rearing, and that not for all women. A view of women that focuses on the wife and mother role and socializes girls mainly for such a role reflects serious lags in our perceptions, beliefs, and perhaps most important, our emotions.

The second set of social changes revolves around what is really not a change at all, but a return to the way things have usually been in human history. We refer to the increasing participation of women, including mothers of young children, in the paid labor force. What is old about this is the restoring to women of their historic role as economic providers. In hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies, which together have constituted the human lifestyle for over 90% of our history, women have always provided a substantial proportion of the economic basis for survival and for support of their families through food-gathering, farming, and other economically productive activities.

The West African women studied by the anthropologist Beatrice Whiting (1977), for example, grow crops on small plots, earn cash and provide food and clothing required by their children. Doing their work in the company of other adults, spending four or five hours a day away from their children, their lives provide what Whiting sees as the critical components of human well-being: a sense of competence--that is, having a valued impact on one's environment; sufficient variation in stimulation; and the assurance of support and comfort. But as their husbands move into stable paid employment in urban settings, the women follow, leaving their family farms. Landless and jobless, they become

economically dependent for the first time and must take sole, full-time responsibility for the care of their children in isolated homes. Boredom and irritability increase; self-esteem decreases; well-being suffers. But to take on eight hours a day of poorly paid work in the labor force is not an answer to their demoralization. Such work creates overwhelming difficulties with child care, fatigue, and other problems so familiar to many women in our society. What should strike us is that these new social changes in Kenya that trouble Beatrice Whiting so much are frighteningly similar to our norm, indeed our social ideal, for the American family: the man as sole economic provider, the woman, jobless and in sole charge of children, economically dependent and isolated in her own home.

But for women not to be involved in economically productive work is in fact a new-fangled pattern in human society. With a cross-cultural perspective, we can see that our pattern, which otherwise might appear to reflect some kind of natural law about the division of labor between men and women, may actually be very unstable as well as painful and dysfunctional.

Of course, which patterns are adaptive and which are not obviously depends upon the social context, but given the context we have described, we believe that all adults must be able to function as economic providers. This simple idea is a cliche if one is thinking about men, but it still remains controversial when applied to women. When men cannot support themselves or their families, we read about it in the newspapers. And as such cases multiply they command the attention of social workers and economists, psychiatrists, and senators. When a woman is unable to provide for herself and any dependents, that is as expected, unless and until she enters particular social categories of persons who threaten to impinge upon public monies: separated mothers, pregnant

teenagers, elderly widows. Like magic, her economic dependence suddenly becomes all too visible and regrettable, attaining the status of a social problem, a label that is a passport to social concern. But this concern should have been present in the minds of parents and educators, mental health workers and public officials from her cradle days on. Yet the situations of the divorced mother, the unmarried pregnant teenager, the poor elderly widow, the battered wife unable to leave home, are simply visible crises that punctuate the course of an otherwise undetected disease. The twin components of this disease are occupational incompetence and economic dependence; among the various milder manifestations are low self-esteem and depression.

Much current literature on mental health and well-being documents these and other negative impacts of what we might call our recent "traditional" patterns, and conversely, the positive consequences of "non-traditional" lifestyles. For example, when the famous group of gifted children first studied by Terman was followed up recently--they are now in their 60's--the women in the group were asked to describe their life pattern and their satisfaction with it (Sears and Barbee, 1977). The women who reported the highest level of satisfaction were income-producers, that is, they were working for pay, and were heads of households, i.e., not currently married. These findings were contrary to expectations, perhaps because our psychological theories (and national mythologies) say that marriage and children are the route to a sense of well-being. These women, of course, were very able and in many cases were relatively successful occupationally. But in a study of working-class women, all of whom were married and had children, Myra Feree (1976) found that despite the routine nature of their jobs, those who worked felt happier and had higher

self-esteem than did the unemployed housewives.

A second illustration is the work of George Brown and his colleagues (Brown, Bhrolchain, & Harris, 1975). Their study of the development of psychiatric symptomato.ogy in women living in London showed that among women most at risk, i.e., those who had small children and who did not have a confidante, employment was a powerful antidote to stress; psychiatric symptoms developed in 79% of those women who were not employed, compared with only 14% of those employed.

Finally, in a large-scale study of households in the Chicago area, Frederic Ilfeld (1977) found that women have higher rates of symptomatology then do men. However, the only group of women with symptomatology rates as low as those of men were those who worked in high-prestige occupations. The mental health implication, Ilfeld concluded, is to get more women into high-status jobs.

Our norm that married women be economically dependent upon their husbands is not viable in many circumstances. Husbands lose their jobs or die without leaving an adequate estate; inflation makes two incomes increasingly necessary; and perhaps most important, marriages dissolve. It is projected that 40% of current marriages will end in divorce. Divorce too often brings poverty to many middle-class women who thought it could never happen to them. About half of the women now on welfare are separated or divorced, and the situation of divorced and separated women <u>not</u> on welfare is precarious. Dorothy Burlage (1978) in a new study of such women asks the question, How do these women manage to avoid welfare? The answer is, barely and painfully, and by being bread-winners. Their major source of support is their own earnings, not alimony or child support. Their economic situation after divorce is much worse than before,

and considering income in relation to need, is much worse than that of their ex-husbands. Because of the limitations of their training and experience and the absence of social supports, many are living out Beatrice Whiting's nightmare alternative for mothers: eight hours of paid drudgery. The low pay of women's occupations, the need to work full-time to receive not only income, but desperately needed health benefits, and barriers to further education constrain both their current and future income. In their book, Time of Transition, Heather Ross and Isabel Sawhill (1975) report finding that of separated women who are on welfare, only about one-quarter could earn even $1,000 more a year than welfare provides.

So we return, then, to the question of occupational competence, and to its roots in socialization, because in mentioning such phenomena as divorce and widowhood, one is reciting the list of disasters that young girls are warned may force them to work. Thus they are encouraged to prepare themselves for some sort of fall-back occupation. In this way, economic independence is associated not with pride and pleasure, but with misfortune, stigma, and failure. For girls to develop maximum occupational competence has been a goal neither for them nor for their parents. The images of girls as future wives and mothers and boys as economic providers are powerful influences on the values, attitudes, practices and feelings of parents, who have been very concerned not to jeopardize the wife-and-mother part of a girls' future role. We are only now beginning to think about what may jeopardize optimal development of a girl's occupational life. The problem may be seen in a study by Barnett (1975), who found that when one ranks occupations in terms of how prestigious they are, the more prestige an occupation has the more boys, but not girls, desired to enter it. For girls, the more prestigious an occupation, the more

they expressed an aversion to entering it. Traditional parental values and attitudes can therefore be hazardous for daughters' future occupational options. Having a challenging and satisfying occupation can be a central source of self-esteem, identity, and satisfaction and it is increasingly important that women derive these from sources beyond the roles of wife and mother.

In our own research we were able to examine the relationship of multiple role involvement to psychological well-being, indexed by self-esteem and role-pattern satisfaction, in a group of mothers who differed in employment status. Data were collected from women and their husbands, who were parents of preschool girls and boys, all of whom participated in a larger study of family and school influences on the competence-related behavior of preschool girls. Our sample included 142 white, married, middle-class women, who had at least one child enrolled in a preschool in the Greater Boston area. All the women were in first marriages, and they were relatively well-educated; 62% had at least a bachelor's degree. The homogeneity of the sample, while limiting generalizability, allowed us to see important differences that would otherwise be obscured.

Our focus was on comparing employed and unemployed mothers, both to determine any differences in the level of their role-patterns satisfaction and self-esteem and to investigate the differences between the groups with respect to the correlates of each of these outcome variables. The employed women met the criteria of working at least ten hours a week in paid employment for at least the year prior to the data collection. About 35% of the mothers in the sample, or 50 women, were classified as employed, and about 60% (n=86) were classified as "at home." The remainder were students and were omitted from this

study. The two subgroups of women did not differ with respect to age, education, or number of children. The women at home were occupying the pattern that has traditionally been commended to women, particularly if they have young children, while the group who were employed represented a non-traditional but increasingly popular pattern: that of working at least part time while caring for young children. If involvement in multiple roles is primarily a source of conflict and stress, without compensatory gratification, mothers who work should be lower in psychological well-being than those at home who are not confronted with potential role conflict and who are living out the socially prescribed lifestyle.

Self-esteem was assessed through a modified version of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Scale (1967), in which subjects indicate whether or not a series of statements is "like them": for example, "I often wish I were someone else," and "People usually follow my ideas." The women reported their level of satisfaction with their current role pattern by using a four-point scale ranging from 1=very dissatisfied to 4=very satisfied.

To examine the correlates of self-esteem and role-pattern satisfaction, we looked at several sets of variables. The first concerned the women's husbands. The profound influence of husbands' attitudes, actual and perceived, upon the role patterns of women (and upon the satisfaction they derive from them), has been demonstrated repeatedly. For example, husbands' actual and perceived attitudes toward wives' employment are related to wives' actual employment status (Macke & Hudis, 1977), particularly among white women. The women therefore were asked to indicate how satisfied they perceived their husbands to be with their (the wives') current role pattern. (Unfortunately, we did not also ask husbands directly how satisfied they were with their

wives' role pattern.) Data were collected directly from the husbands about their sex-role ideology, that is, their beliefs about the appropriate roles for women and men, using a modified version of the Spence-Helmreich Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Short Form (1972). In addition, the prestige of the husbands' occupations was rates, using the scale proposed by Treiman (1975). Jean Lipman-Blumen (1973) has argued that women in the traditional role pattern often derive a vicarious sense of achievement and therefore satisfaction from their husbands' occupational achievements. This phenomenon suggests that self-esteem and role-pattern satisfaction should be more strongly correlated with husbands' occupational prestige for women at home than for employed women.

The second set of variables concerned the women's mothers, whom we viewed as possible role models, positive and/or negative. We examined the impact on satisfaction and self-esteem of two aspects of their mothers' lives as reported by the women: (a) the actual employment status of their mothers as they were growing up; and (b) their mothers' role-pattern preferences, that is, whether the mother would have preferred to work or to stay home, regardless of actual employment status.

The third set of variables concerned the role definitions and attitudes of the women themselves. We assessed their sex-role ideology by using the Spence-Helmreich Scale (1972). In order to examine their self-perceptions with respect to competence and femininity, they were asked to rate themselves on two sets of traits taken from the Rosenkrantz Sex-Role Questionnaire (Rosenkrantz, 1968). One subset of traits was from the competence subscale and included such qualities as assertiveness, independence, and leadership ability, which were previously determined to be both socially desirable and associated with males.

A second subset of traits were previously determined to be socially desirable and associated with females, e.g., kindness, warmth. The first scale was viewed as a measure of sense of competence, the second, a sense of femininity. In previous studies (Baruch, 1973; 1976) sense of competence but not of femininity, has been found to be positively correlated with self-esteem.

For the group of women who were employed, several important dimensions of their work were assessed. We measured commitment to work by asking the women to rate how important working in general was to them. They were also asked to rate their satisfaction with their current job. The prestige of their occupations was assessed using the Treiman Scale (1975).

Finally, women were asked about the number and ages of their children, since several studies have reported a negative relationship between women's mental health and responsibility for the care of young children. However, our sample proved to be relatively homogeneous in this respect; all the women had at least one child under six by virtue of inclusion in the sample, and only 14% had more than two children. No relationship was found for either group of women between the number or ages of children and role-pattern satisfaction or self-esteem.

Turning now to the results, we first present some overall findings and then turn to those concerning the particular subsets of variables (See Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

An important general finding was that there were no significant differences between women in paid employment and women at home with respect to level of either role-pattern satisfaction or self-esteem. Thus involvement in multiple

roles, as wife, mother, worker, even when children are young, does not serve to diminish psychological well-being, nor does being at home enhance well-being. Of course, in this relatively well-educated and economically privileged sample the women tended to be in the role patterns they preferred; on the four-point satisfaction scale, over 85% of the women reported themselves to be either moderately or very satisfied.

A second general finding was of a strong relationship between self-esteem and self-perceptions of competence for both groups of women. For employed women the Pearson product-moment correlation was .48, and for women at home it was .42; both are significant at the .001 level. Thus, perceiving oneself as having competence-related traits contributes to the self-esteem of women at home as well as employed women, even though these traits are considered traditionally masculine. It is interesting that sense of femininity was not associated with self-esteem or satisfaction for either group. These data suggest that, in our culture, seeing oneself as possessing competence-related traits is conducive to a high level of self-esteem, while seeing oneself as traditionally feminine is not.

Turning now to the subsets of variables, those concerning husbands were of particular interest. We were surprised by the magnitude of the relationship between women's perceptions of husbands' attitudes toward their role pattern and our indices of well-being. For women at home, the correlation between role-pattern satisfaction and husband's perceived attitudes was .74 ($p < .001$); between self-esteem and perceived attitude it was .31 ($p < .01$). Among employed women the correlation for self-esteem was .58 ($p < .001$); for satisfaction, .39 ($p < .01$). Among women at home, then, the degree to which they perceive their husbands as approving of their role pattern explains about

55% of the variance of their satisfaction with their pattern, compared with 33% for employed women. The difference between these groups with respect to the correlation coefficients for role-pattern satisfaction fell just short of conventional levels of significance ($p < .07$). Thus the well-being of women at home appears more dependent upon their husbands than does that of employed women.

Husbands' sex-role ideology was, in contrast, not related to self-esteem or role-pattern satisfaction in either group of women. Since the measure of ideology was administered directly to husbands, it may be that the wives' perceptions of their husbands' attitudes are biased (Bailyn, 1978). More likely, however, a husband's attitude toward his own wife's role pattern may not be identical to his beliefs about the proper roles of men and women in general.

In contrast to expectations derived from the theory of vicarious achievement, the prestige of the husbands' occupations was not related to either outcome variable for either group of women. Thus there was no evidence that self-esteem or role-pattern satisfaction for women at home depended upon their husbands' accomplishments. However, occupational prestige is only one index, and a fairly crude one, of the husbands' achievements, particularly for a middle-class sample.

The second set of variables concerns the women's mothers. It is important to note that the employment status of women in our sample was not related to whether their mothers worked or not. For both groups of women, their mothers' actual employment status was unrelated to self-esteem. For employed women, mothers' employment status was also unrelated to role-pattern satisfaction. However, role-pattern satisfaction among women at home was related to having a mother who did not work ($r = .29$, $p < .05$).

Women's reports of whether their mothers would have preferred to work or not, regardless of their actual employment status, were related to both indices of psychological well-being. In general, self-esteem and satisfaction were associated with a woman's perceiving her mother as preferring the role pattern she was now occupying. Among employed women, perceiving their mothers as preferring to work was correlated with their own role-pattern satisfaction and self-esteem at the .05 level (r = .35 and r = .35, respectively). Among women at home, perceiving their mothers as preferring not to work was related to satisfaction at the .05 level (r = .32); the relationship to self-esteem was not significant. To put it another way, choosing a role pattern contrary to that endorsed by one's mother appears to diminish self-esteem and satisfaction with one's role pattern, perhaps because of feelings of self-doubt, conflict and guilt about living a life different from that of the mother.

The third set of variables concerned role definitions and attitudes of the women themselves. With respect to sex-role ideology, among employed women there was no relationship to either self-esteem or satisfaction. However, for women at home, having a non-traditional sex-role ideology was negatively related to role-pattern satisfaction at the .01 level of significance (r = -.25); there was no significant relationship to self-esteem. A discrepancy between and actual role-pattern clearly can contribute to dissatisfaction.

With respect to the work-related attitudes assessed for the employed women, a strong correlation was found between commitment to work and role-pattern satisfaction (r = .86; $p<.001$). Commitment to work was also strongly related to self-esteem (r = .48, $p<.01$). The two indices of well-being were less strongly related to satisfaction with current job, which was correlated

with satisfaction at the .01 level (r = .42) and to self-esteem at a nearly significant level (r = .27, p<.07). Thus for employed women, the centrality of work to their lives and satisfaction with their current job had a powerful positive impact upon their psychological well-being. These findings directly contradict the idea that when a woman has several roles, the greater her commitment to one role, the more severe the strain, and therefore the lower her well-being. In fact, our data suggest that well-being may be enhanced by such commitment.

Finally, with respect to the prestige of women's occupations, the correlations of occupational prestige with satisfaction and self-esteem just failed to attain conventional levels of significance (r = .26, p<.10 and r = .26, p<.10), respectively). The magnitude of these correlations may have been reduced not only by the small size of the sample but by the relative similarity of the women's occupations with respect to prestige; prestige levels were moderately high.

Perhaps the most important finding of this study concerns the sources of self-esteem and satisfaction available to married women with young children. The well-being of non-employed women is highly dependent upon their husbands' approval of their pattern, or more accurately, on their (the wives') perceptions of his approval. Employed women are also sensitive to their husbands' attitudes, although considerably less so. But, in addition, their own commitment to work and their satisfaction with their current job contribute heavily to both indices of well-being. These work-related variables are clearly more under the woman's own control, more independent of others, and thus may be more stable bases for well-being. Heavy reliance on external sources, on sources out of one's control for one's self-esteem, is highly problematic, especially in light of the high rate of marital dissolution.

A second important implication of our findings is that even while women are intensely concerned with the demands of young children, involvement in multiple roles need not result in debilitating conflict, strain, and dissatisfaction. At later stages of the life cycle, involvement in multiple roles may even protect against such stress as that associated with the empty nest and aging (Bart, 1972).

Our work supports, at least indirectly, the value of preparing girls from childhood on to develop and exercise occupational competence. In fact, in individual interviews many of the unemployed mothers who had daughters expressed similar sentiments. When asked how they would like their preschool daughter's life to be similar to theirs and how they would like it to be different, they stressed the importance of evaluating life choices before making commitments:

> I hope she decides to get into some career before marriage, or at least before she has children--it would just make things a lot easier on all concerned.

> I would like her to find a satisfying career which she can combine with being married and having a family, if she chooses to have one. I feel it is extremely important for her to have a fulfilling career for her to establish a real sense of worth as an adult woman. I do not feel I am as career-oriented and ambitious as I would like to be. I would like Debbie to be more so.

REFERENCES

Bailyn, L. Personal communication, 1978.

Barnett, R.C. Sex differences and age trends in occupational preference and occupational prestige. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1975, 22, 35-38.

Bart, P. Depression in middle-aged women. In J.M. Bardwick (Ed.), Readings on the psychology of women, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Baruch, G. K. Feminine self-esteem, self-ratings of competence, and maternal career-commitment. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1973, 20, 487-488.

Baruch, G. K. Girls who perceive themselves as competent: Some antecedents and correlates. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 1976, 1, 38-49.

Birnbaum, J.A. Life patterns and self-esteem in gifted family-oriented and career-committed women. In M. Mednick, S. Tangri, & L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), Women and achievement: Social and motivational analysis. New York: Hemisphere-Halstead, 1975.

Blau, F.D. The impact of the unemployment rate on labor force entries and exits. Paper presented to Secretary of Labor's Invitational Conference on the National Longitudinal Surveys of Mature Women, Washington, D.C., 1978.

Brown, G.W., Bhrolchain, M.N., & Harris, T. Social class and psychiatric disturbance among women in an urban population. Sociology, 1975, 9, 225-254.

Burlage, D. Divorced and separated mothers: Combining the responsibilities of breadwinning and childrearing. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1978.

Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., & Rodgers, W.L. The quality of American life. New York, Russell Sage, 1976.

Coopersmith, S. The antecedents of self-esteem. San Francisco: Freeman, 1968.

Ferree, M.M. The confused American housewife. Psychology Today, 1976, 10, 76-80.

Fidell, L. Employment status, role dissatisfaction and the housewife syndrome. Unpublished manuscript, 1978, California State University.

Gove, W.R. & Tudor, J.F. Adult sex roles and mental illness. American Journal of Sociology, 1973, 78, 812-835.

Hoffman, L.W. Changes in family roles, socialization, and sex differences. American Psychologist, 1977, 32, 644-657.

Ilfeld, F., Jr. Sex differences in psychiatric symptomatology. Paper presented at meeting of American Psychological Association, San Francisco, 1977.

Kangas, J. & Bradway, K. Intelligence at middle age: A thirty-eight-year-followup. Developmental Psychology, 1972, 5, 333-337.

Kanter, R. M. Work and family in the United States: A critical review and agenda for research and policy. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1977.

Kohn, M.L. & Schooler, C. The complexity of work and intellectual functioning. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, 1977.

Lipman-Blumen, J. The vicarious achievement ethic and non-traditional roles for women. Paper presented to meeting of Eastern Sociological Association, New York, 1973.

Macke, A.S. & Hudis, P.M. Sex-role attitudes and employment among women: A dynamic model of change and continuity. Paper presented to Secretary of Labor's Invitational Conference on the National Longitudinal Surveys of Mature Women, Washington, D.C., 1978.

Radloff, L. Sex differences in depression: The effects of occupation and marital status. Sex Roles, 1975, 1, 249-265.

Rosenkrantz, P., Vogel, S., Bee, H., Broverman, I. & Broverman, D. Sex-role stereotypes and self-concepts in college students. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1968, 32, 287-295.

Ross, H.L. & Sawhill, I.V. Time of transition: The growth of families headed by women. Washington: The Urban Institute, 1975.

Sears, P.S. & Barbee, A.H. Career and life satisfaction among Terman's gifted women. In J. Stanley, W. George, & C. Solano, (Eds.), The gifted and the creative: Fifty year perspective. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Spence, J. & Helmreich, R. The attitudes towards women scale: An objective instrument to measure attitudes towards the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 1972, 2, 66.

Sullivan, T.A. Black female breadwinners: Some interactions of dual market and secondary worker theory. Paper presented to meeting of American Sociological Association, Chicago, 1977.

Treiman, D.J. Problems of concept and measurement in the comparative study of occupational mobility. Social Science Research, 1975, 4, 183-230.

Warren, R.B. The work role and problem coping: Sex differentials in the use of helping systems in urban communities. Paper presented at meeting of American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1975.

Whiting, B.B. Changing life styles in Kenya. Daedalus, 1977, 106, 211-225.

Table 1

Summary of Findings

Variables	Employed Women (n=50) Role-Pattern Satisfaction	Employed Women (n=50) Self-Esteem	Unemployed Women (n=86) Role-Pattern Satisfaction	Unemployed Women (n=86) Self-Esteem
Husbands of Subjects:				
Perceived attitude	.58^{xxx}	.39^{xx}	.74^{xxx}	.31^{xx}
Sex-role ideology	ns	ns	ns	ns
Occupational prestige	ns	ns	ns	ns
Mothers of Subjects:				
Employment status	ns	ns	-.29^{x}	ns
Role pattern preference	.35*	.35*	.32*	ns
Women's Role Definitions:				
Sex-role ideology	ns	ns	-.25^{xx}	ns
Self-perception of competence	.28	.48^{xxx}	ns	.42^{xxx}
Self-perception of femininity	ns	ns	ns	ns
Commitment to work	.86^{xxx}	.48^{xx}		
Satisfaction with current job	.42^{xx}	.27		
Occupational prestige	-.26	.25		

Note: For correlations without asterisks, $p < .10$.

x $p < .05$.
xx $p < .01$.
xxx $p < .001$.